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question and bring the water home, when without such trouble, the same, and even a much better, result can be obtained by using the water where it is found 575

The Isneg wash their hands before meals, or, to speak correctly, dip one of their hands in water with a semblance of washing it: they occasionally tell their offspring to do the same. 264 515 862

In order to satisfy the wants of nature, they always retire far away from the presence of other human beings lest they offend the latters' sense of smell: an Isneg resents nothing more than the disregard of this elementary courtesy, and children receive a severe scolding and sometimes a sound thrashing, if they fail to imitate their elders in this respect. Special closets for the purpose were entirely unknown here until Government officials introduced them by force: there is no lack of space in Apayaw. 514 863 177

Isneg women sweep the house, not only daily, but whenever there is a reason for doing so, and they clean the yard very often. Small girls are regularly told to help their mother or their elder sisters, and sometimes to do the sweeping in their stead, so that they also may learn how to perform the duties of a good housewife. 356 863

Let us now pass to the noble sport of *bisndg*. *Bisndg* is very popular all over the northern part of the Mountain Province, while Ibaloy and Kankanay seem not even to know it. Among the Isneg, not only boys and young men, but also men of mature age, frequently indulge in it; nay, at stated times, adults take part in it as in a kind of religious rite or ceremony; but more of this later. Isneg youngsters usually practice *bisndg* in imitation of their elders, merely as a kind of play, whenever it takes their fancy to do so. Although this sport is not formally taught, older people often urge boys to take part in it, and they rarely fail to break out into vociferous applause, whenever one of the young braves has performed his part befittingly, in this way encouraging the whole group to do better and better. 524 857 865 865 201 861

Bisndg certainly inures the partakers to hardship and develops their bodily strength, although, to use a minimum of words, one might say that it merely consists in slapping one another's thigh. But such a statement is all too simple; in reality the sport is much more complicated. There must be at least two men in order to play *bisndg* (Figures 1 and 2), and strictly speaking, two men are sufficient: the one who slaps, whom I shall call the agent for short, and the one who is slapped, the patient. 524 865

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yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basílig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakáy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxároń*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *urúd*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

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857 *Magdaldál*: Said of a mother who badly wants to see her absent child.

192 *Kakóboń*: Family, parents and children.

104 *Makikóboń*: To live together in the same house (two different families, servants of the family).

601 *Amá* or *ammá*: Father.

Iná or *innó*: Mother.

Waxí: Brother, sister. Plural: *wawáxi*.

Manákam: Oldest brother or sister (the first of all); also: parents, ancestors.

Udiyán: Youngest brother or sister (the last of all).

Ulitág: Uncle.

Ikit: Aunt.

Kapinsán: First cousin.

Kapidnwá: Second cousin.

Kapi-ló: Third cousin (prefix *kapi* and stem *talló*, "three").

Katuxáńón: Father-in-law, mother-in-law.

Manúxań: Son-in-law, daughter-in-law.

Káyoń or *katāyūg*: Brother-in-law.

Ipāg: Sister-in-law.

Kabírat: The relation that exists between the husbands or wives of two brothers or sisters, or the husband of a woman and her brother's wife.

Bálo: widower, widow (mourning).

Búkud: widower, widow (after the mourning period is over).

601 Many of these terms have a very elastic meaning. *Waxí* may be either a real brother or sister, or simply any kind of relative. *Amá* and *iná* may sometimes refer to any relative whose relation is similar to that of father and mother, for instance: uncle and aunt, etc. *Káyoń* may be either a real brother-in-law or the husband of a first cousin, etc.

III. Daily Routine

512 Although the daily life of an Isneg is not regulated by the clock, there is nevertheless a certain order in the routine of his duties and 264 occupations. The family generally rises at daybreak. An Isneg begins the day as soon as artificial light can be dispensed with, and if yams (*úbi*) or sweet potatoes (*kamusí*) are available, the women cook them on the never-absent fire, and all inmates of the house try to get their share as best they can. As soon as this informal break-

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fast is over,—or, if none of the above-named tubers are to be had, which is by far the most usual case, as soon as all limbs have been duly stretched out,—everyone turns to his occupations: the women mostly repair to their fields, and the men either go fishing or attend to some other kind of work that devolves upon them; a good many times, however, they simply do nothing.

About ten or eleven o'clock a. m., the Isneg take their first substantial meal: this has been prepared by the women, who usually come back a little earlier than the men, in case the latter have been out, and it is generally taken in common, the whole family squatting around the plates that are set out on some particular spot on the floor, not too far from the hearth. After that the men act in the same way as in the morning, while women either go back to the field or attend to the pounding of rice, the feeding of the pigs and other chores.

In the evening the second principal meal is cooked, and it is partaken of very often by the light of the flickering flames of the hearth, but never at a very late hour, as the Isneg goes to sleep almost with the chickens. When I say "goes to sleep", I do not of course mean "sleeps", as a comparatively long interval of time generally separates the two actions: this gap is filled in by story-telling and so on, while the young men roam around to see their sweethearts or to court the girls. When there is moonlight, the youngsters usually pass the first part of the night in romping and playing.

In a few families the first substantial meal is cooked and eaten in the morning, before the inmates of the house leave for their respective occupations; and then, cooked yams or sweet potatoes are occasionally partaken of at or about noon. Others again, instead of eating their first meal at home, take along some cooked provisions (*kupíl*; never *bálon*, "provisions of uncooked food"), and eat them at the place of their work.

Such is the Isneg daily life under ordinary circumstances. At the time of the year devoted to the preparation of the fields (clearing the forest and burning the grasses), the men very often start early in the morning, after breakfast, and come back only in the evening, when they partake of their last meal. The women rarely fail to come back more or less early in the afternoon in order to attend to their ordinary household duties.

Whenever the men intend to leave the house very early, whether to go to the field, or to start on a journey that will last for several days, the women arise long before daybreak, at the first crowing of the

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cock, in order to prepare breakfast, which early preparation is called *magsira*.

Actually children who attend school continue to follow the general Isneg rule, and leave home early in the morning, before having taken any breakfast. As they have to wait until noon before partaking of their first meal, it is needless to say that such conditions will hardly improve the health of the next generation.

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Divisions of day and night as known to the Isneg:

Mawarnit: Immediately before sunrise.

Pagmakát: Morning, from sunrise till about ten o'clock a. m.

Alzów: Day.

Xídam: Evening, from about five o'clock p. m. till darkness sets in.

Xabí: Night.

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585 allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *mañlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balanddn* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balanddn* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balanddn* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *mañlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

585 574 264 The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, of which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *bási* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

585 583 431 The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *mañakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *xúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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Every day the women reap one *ikkám* (one day's harvest) and, if the sun shines, throw down (*ukáyan*) the latest addition to the *bańíbāń* (bundles of rice piled up in the *sízăy*-hut), and spread the *battá-* (bundles) in the sun (*mamilág*; said of palay, clothes, etc.) to dry (*maxáńo*; also said of Indian corn, beans, etc.; not: of clothes, etc.). Even palay that has been dried for several days, if it is found to be *nalumăy* or damp (not thoroughly dry), is brought out again and sunned, unless they prefer to dry it over the fire. But the latter process is never resorted to with paddy that has not passed through the ordinary stages of sunning, or that happens to retain more than a slight degree of moisture, and so to be wetter than what is called *nalumăy*. Whenever rain threatens, the rice is piled up again (*magdalatún*) into a *bańíbāń* (heap of palay), inside the *sízăy*-hut. The women must be careful not to sun palay that is only half matured, lest it become entirely useless (*matúmăy*): it must be reserved for roasting, which will be explained in due time. To sun palay for the first time is *mańwarwár*; after that it is called *mamilág*, even though the rice be freshly cut. 243

The palay is sunned, either twice a day, late in the morning and some time in the afternoon, or only in the afternoon; but all bundles must be exposed to the sun and spread open in rows, at least three times. It is absolutely taboo to count the *battá-* (bundles) while sunning them or while piling them up into a *bańíbāń*; counting will be done later, when it will be attended to with special ceremonies.

Every day, about noon, a man (*manúxan*), usually the owner of the field, brings food to the reapers (*tumúxan*). This food has been cooked at home and wrapped up in leaves, either by himself or by somebody else. Any kind of leaves may serve the purpose, except the first time, when it is necessary to use leaves of the *lippokán*, a kind of banana, whose very small fruits have a thin greenish skin. The food always consists of cooked rice (*nabáw*) and *láda-* (residue of coconut meat from which the oil has been extracted); the addition of other viands is optional. 243 264

The *manúxan* is not allowed to cross a stream, to swim or to go to somebody else's house. If his *kómān* is at the other side of a stream from his house, he has to pass the night in the *sízăy*, and to cook the food as best he can, the hearth of the hut not being fitted out for cooking. The same man must be *manúxan* from the first to the last day of the harvest. 243 784

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243 Generally only one full meal is taken in the *sízăy*, everybody
264 partakes of it, and the following two ceremonies have to be performed
782 every time:

They take three small leaves (any kind) and put a pinch of *pinatúpāt*, placed in the *sízăy* for this purpose, mixed with coconut oil on each of them. The *pinatúpāt* is a block of rice pudding wrapped up in strips of palm leaves. Then the *manúxan* places one of these leaves in the hearth (*dapûg*), one on the palay stored inside (*bañíbāñ*), and one outside, near the ladder. At this juncture the following prayer may be recited. My informant, *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch), called it *maglappá-*, a synonym for *pisi-* (offering food, etc. to the spirits).

Ne kuwámo ilāy paglaxíbannakami maggáni (Here, this is yours, Ilay, watch us harvesting).

For the second ceremony they take several (at least four) leaves of the *balbál*, a small tree with brown bark and leaves resembling those of the cabbage. On each of these leaves they put a little *nabáw* (cooked rice) and a small amount of *láda-* (just mentioned). Then they place one such leaf in the *patuxáw*-basket (containing immature rice, etc.), one on the *bañíbāñ* (heap of palay), one in the hearth, and one in the *damáxan*-basket, at the *pinudóñ*, behind the hut. The one in the hearth, near the fire, is placed there in honor of Pilay, so that he be favorably inclined toward his clients and make them *nadañgán*, "blessed with a rich harvest".

243 Before going on with the description of the activities of the reapers,
784 I shall explain the taboos that have to be observed by them. The reason is that these prohibitions are especially stringent at the beginning of the harvest, the first three or five days, namely all the time the *sarañásañ*-barrier (mentioned before) obstructs the path that leads to the field.

The *manírut*, or reapers who bind palay into *battá-* (bundles), are not allowed to swim, to enter the *balávа* (place near the house where rice is pounded), to take hold of a hatchet, to eat from a plate or dish (they must use leaves), to eat chicken. These taboos remain in force as long as their work lasts.

Any kind of loud noise is absolutely forbidden in and around the *kómān*. The reason for this and similar taboos is to prevent the spirit (*kaduduwá*) of the rice from becoming frightened and escaping.

Shouting and singing in or around the *kómān* is tabooed, under pain of imminent illness (*masipñúd*).

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remains after pounding) and some *asáp* (husks, what remains after winnowing), and wrap them in a leaf; after they have come home, they hang the latter somewhere in the *baláwa* (place where they pound rice). The same is done when new rice (not *inixúbān*) is winnowed for the first time.

Then we have the *uglây*, which must be set apart before anything else, when *inixúbān* is being prepared for the first time. The *uglây* consists of at least three liters of *inixúbān* that have to be kept for the Pilay who resides in the house, near the hearth. After the harvest, however, human beings consume what the spirit has left.

Husked *inixúbān* that is not consumed immediately, is stored up in calabashes, the ordinary kernels in *bakóba-* (the usual receptacles for husked rice), the broken ones in *busińgán* (a smaller kind of calabash). The latter must have *takkág*-amulets tied around the neck, and their contents are reserved for children to eat.

The Isneg eat the *inixúbān*[1] (*magdúm* or *manúm*) either with or without viands. Sometimes, especially when children are around, they put back in the mortar a certain amount of *inixúbān*, and pound it until it is reduced to powder; by mixing this flour with coconut meat, a kind of pudding (*limbá-*) is prepared that may be eaten either raw or cooked.

When you have been preparing *inixúbān* for the first time, this is the way to *magdúm* (to eat *inixúbān*): first, eat one mouthful of *inixúbān*, then pronounce the magic word *barîbarī*, and after that continue your meal in the ordinary way.

At this juncture one or both of the following prayers may be recited. The second one must be accompanied by an offering of some of the food (*maglappá-* or *magpísi-*).

Barîbarī di mapalpáli ya kanánmi (Baribari, our food is not easily consumed).

Barîbarī matugtugkîkami maggáni (Baribari, we harvest more and more).

Both texts were given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch).

The preparation of the *inixúbān* does not interfere with the usual routine of the harvest, and the reapers go on with their work until it is finished.

If you foresee that the amount of your palay will be very much smaller than that of other years, so that it will hardly be possible to

[1] [roasted immature rice. --Analyst]

000 in these jars, together with the beads. The[1] jars are
523 valued up to ₱200 and bead up to ₱150 each. They
[435] are usually inherited in the family as marriage dow-
[431] ries; but may be received as indemnity for injuries.
[425] Sometimes labels, in the ancient script, are chiseled
[583] on these jars. According to authorities, when the
[681] people came here, they had a high culture and read
212 and wrote fluently in the script; but this culture grad-
178 ually lessened from disuse until now there are only
523 a few treasured ancient manuscripts remaining.

415 One type of basket is used. The lip is circuar-
285 formed on rattan. The bottom is drawn out to four corners on which is secured a rattan base. Both wicker and twilled basket weaves are used, and the best ones are ornamented with colored lines and conventional designs. These baskets are woven in different sizes to fit various needs; so that a good housewife has a whole set of them which will nest together There are also some especially shaped baskets for particular uses.

415 At meal time the cooked rice is ladled out on new
264 banana leaves placed on the floor, and the other food may be placed in polished, half-coconut shells. These are also used as water cups, finger bowls, and general containers. The family squat around and help themselves to the food. Their fingers are washed and, being more convenient, are used in place of forks.

262 The rice has a pinkish hue, is sticky, has a good flavor, and is the basic food of the people. With this may be eaten portions of the flesh of fish, shrimp, snails, crabs, crocodiles, lizards, frogs, ants, chickens, 000 birds, or deer. The vegetables may be: tomatoes, egg-

[1] [ancient Chinese -- ANALYST]

In the morning the family prepares the food for 796
the guests. The men butcher the dog, chickens, and 574
pigs. They might go out and get a wild pig or two. 252
The women cook the rice, vegetables and meat. Boys 462
carry invitations to the houses of the guests, who be- 202
gin to arrive about noon, all dressed up in their best clothes.

When a guest arrives, he is given a drink of *basi-* 796
and also food, if he is hungry. Individual servings 574
of rice, together with some meat and vegetables, are 264
wrapped up in sections of bamboo leaf and passed 782
around. One package of food is placed for the family [772]
anito under the sacred big tree or bamboo clump where it lives, and where it is the custom to hang the heads taken by the family warriors. As the various animals are killed, a little of the blood and liver are placed in a coconut shell or a section of bamboo and hung up for the *anito* of the feast. That is his share. The people eat the rest for him. Also *runo* leaves are hung from a rafter above the stove, one for each pig killed.

Dancing, *talip*, in the house starts early in the 535
afternoon. The intriguing music is supplied by the 796
women, who beat a staccato rhythm on three instru- 534
ments: the *ludog*, a drum fashioned of a hollowed log 574
with a skin secured over one end; a large, shallow curved-bottomed kettle-shaped bronze gon*g*; and the *ganza*, a smaller, flat-bottomed bronze gong. Each [533]
has its own tone (base, soprano, alto) and beat; while the notes are short: quarter, eighth, and sixteenth. Thus the rhythm is fast and intricate: hard to follow. One couple dances at a time. One of the family hands 535
a special cloth to an honored guest. He starts walk- 796
574

pleasing lilt or perchance composing words in honor of some guest or circumstance. The tune used is called the *salecdomey*. Somewhere a boy may be openly courting the girl of his choice in a characteristic chant *adkaling*, but often composing his own words. Food and sweets may be served two or three times in the night, and the party goes on with increasing excitement, as more and more *basi* is consumed. Drunken quarrels may break out, leading to blows. Killings are not infrequent. One must have had quite a few drinks in order to really enjoy this party.

Along towards morning the music stops and the tired people lie down to sleep—either in that or adjacent houses. If, perchance, a boy has been successful in his courtship, he may follow his girl to where she lies down. After some further discussion, she probably accepts him.

The feast may continue the next day and next, according to the wishes and wealth of the family, and how long the *basi* and food lasts. At the end of the feast, the priestess again calls the *anito*: she tells it that they hope that it is pleased with its feast and will now grant their requests. Then the guests start for home. The relatives are each given some meat to take with them, and soon all is quiet again.

Probably the most popular feast is the *say-am*, given for the *anito*, Pilay, after the harvest. The *dildap* is a small, short feast given for the *anito Kaybacan*, sometimes for the health or welfare of the family, or to clinch some agreement. There is no dancing. The *magboto* is given before, and the *boda* after a head hunting expedition as described elsewhere. The